1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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barricaded his doorway with thorns. On his return he found them, and he moved to Mwaihojo's country (the adjoining chiefdom).'

Often an accusation of witchcraft is made without resort to divination at all: the behaviour of the accused (as in the cases quoted on pp. 110–13) or the word of 'the defender', is taken as evidence. But if there is doubt as to the identity of the witch, the patient or his family may consult a diviner (*undagusi*),[1] putting before him the names of persons they suspect. Whatever the grounds of accusation, however, it was normally confirmed by the *umwafi* ordeal, if the accused did not admit guilt. The chief might order a suspect to go to the ordeal, or a man or woman accused by his neighbours would appeal to the ordeal, when denying the charge. In such a case the accuser and accused first went to the chief to report and get official witnesses, then, accompanied by these witnesses and other friends, they went to a doctor who had a store of a certain medicine, *umwafi*, and there, at his homestead, they drank the *umwafi* together. Those who failed to vomit were judged guilty. The procedure was described by a number of witnesses (*vide* Documents, pp. 241–6). The accuser and the accused, each accompanied by supporters, go to the doctor, who warns them not to drink if what they have said is false. The doctor sprinkles powder into tepid water and gives the accuser and the accused the infusion to drink. He addresses the *umwafi*, and the supporters address each their own friend. Then, when one vomits his (or her) supporters applaud trilling,[2] and they go home, the man who vomited paying the doctor. Mwandesi described how after one of the two had vomited the other would sit tense and miserable, quite still. He would be left alone awhile, but later the doctor would try to make him bring up the poison: 'Should a man die?' they said. Only rarely, it seems, did anyone die of drinking *umwafi*.

If the accuser failed to vomit he was judged guilty of witchcraft himself; if neither vomited both were judged guilty; if both vomited the accuser was fined, paying two or more cows to the accused in compensation for slander. If he had no cows he might give a girl in marriage.

[1] For the methods of divination see Godfrey Wilson 'An African Morality', *Africa*, Vol. IX (1936), p. 80.

[2] A high-pitched *ulu-ulu-ulu* expressing praise and triumph.